593 cerned with his own and his group's status in marriage arrange-
[584] ments. One informant said that a rich man must marry into a
• [581] rich group. The Bedouin have a saying which is relevant here:
* [613] "Your bait is equal to the bait into which you marry." Before her marriage the girl's duty toward her father is to respect and obey him. After her marriage "her only duty is that she
[758] must visit him from time to time. If he becomes sick, and he has no wife, she must care for him and nurse him."

593 It was a common sight to see a Bedouin father fondle
834 his daughter of age six years or younger, but beyond this age physical intimacy ceases. The Bedouin say that a father should not kiss or hold on his knee a daughter over the age of eleven. After the girl marries, a definite avoidance custom characterizes the father-daughter role relationship. The Bedouin say that the father will not see the face of his daughter after her marriage. This means that the married daughter remains veiled before her father, and even before her older brothers. This type of avoidance custom is rare by comparison with the cross-cultural data (Driver 1966).

593 A wife obeys her husband concerning all matters: "she does not even leave the house without his permission." A woman may go and complain to her father if her husband does not provide for her, i.e., with food and clothing, or if he unjustly beats her or continually threatens to beat her. On the other hand, if a woman is in the wrong "it is

156 than the Awlad 'Ali societal level. In the traditional
554 system, his influence and power have been informal, and,
121 although this has been advantageous over against the formal role of 'aqila, his political activity was ultimately limited by this structural differentiation and definition of authority. [177] In gaining access to the bureaucratic structure of Egyptian officialdom with its firm allocation of rights and duties, Hajj 'Ali could operate as an authority within the total authority structure which has reference to both the internal and external political relational systems of al-Qasr.

Practical Application

*613 In al-Qasr, the two most influential and powerful lineages, 'Ailit Lazumi and 'Ailit Ma'fas, each have a [634] "most powerful bait." We have noted that in 'Ailit Lazumi it is Bait Bu Taram which controls the office of 'umda: in *613 'Ailit Ma'fas it is Bait 'Umar which has Hajj 'Ali. Hajj 'Ali
159 is fifty three years old. He has married five times, divorced
581 one wife, and at present has four wives. Whatever his motives
156 for these marriages, at least some of them have obviously [595] been made as economic and political moves. A check on his wives' tribal origins will show this. In each case, Hajj 'Ali's wife is from a lineage which holds land contiguous to his own property in the 'izba sector of al-Qasr. The one exception to this is a marriage contracted to establish ties

*613 with Bait Bu Taram of 'Ailit Lazumi. These marriages and
159 their resultant alliances enhance the political power and
•581 social status of Hajj 'Ali within and without al-Qasr.
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Although he has no education himself, and neither reads
159 nor writes, Hajj 'Ali has sent his son to the University of
156 Alexandria. Hajj 'Ali's son is the only boy from al-Qasr
873 ever to attend the university. Hajj 'Ali desired that his
[212] son study law at the university or enter the military academy
"and become an officer." But his son objected to this, saying:
"Either way I will be employed by the government and will not
be permitted to travel and see other countries." Hajj 'Ali did
not argue with this: he said that his son should study what
he wished. The son is now studying in the Faculty of Commerce
156 at Alexandria. Hajj 'Ali is also sending his daughters to
159 the primary school in al-Qasr. Not all of the Bedouins believe
872 that girls should receive an education.
562

156 Hajj 'Ali places among the "status group" in terms
159 of wealth. Although he has now committed himself to olive-
554 farming as a way of life, he remains one of the biggest sheep
472 owners in al-Qasr. Therefore, he is identified with both tra-
ditional and modern symbols of status. Hajj 'Ali differs in
156 one important way from other members of the "status group"
159 in that he owns three small general stores, two in al-Qasr
554 and one far to the west in Sallum. This fact has several
443 significant implications. Shops in al-Qasr (there are five
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*[613]

CHAPTER V

MARRIAGE: A CONTRACTUAL RELATIONSHIP

593 578 A survey of all disputes occurring among the eilat Aggary in the last five years shows that more than 70% were disputes over "women," the usual phrase referring to cases involving marital relations. Disagreement over matters arising out of quarrels between husband and wife or between one of the spouses and his or her in-laws often constitute the basis for these disputes. What seems to make marriage and the family particularly productive of conflict is the fact that although 593 578 602 613 [591] residence is commonly virilocal, and the majority of the women leaving their own families to live with the husband, the woman retains her membership in her father's family after the marriage, and her agnatic group keeps an active interest in her, even after she is married. Marriage then brings face to face the interests of two groups. These interests affect the relationship between the married couple; and, more importantly, the relationship between the latter affects the interests of their respective groups. This, in many instances, leads to direct conflict between the two groups.

581 671 585 675 The position of the Awlad Ali daraieb with regard to marriage relations is based on the Islamic law with minor modifications to suit the requirements of local life. According to the Muslim law, marriage is a civil contract affected by the request of one party and the agreement of the other. No witnesses are needed for the legalization of the marriage, according to some of the Shi'a sects, although the Sunni schools of Muslim jurisprudence insist that two adult male and two adult females

581 585 671 675 are necessary for the validation of the marriage contract. Modern legal systems which took as their basis the Islamic law of marriage and the family further required the registration of the marriage contract for the marriage to be legal.

584 585 429 593 The request and necessary response forming the marriage are supposed to be carried on by the parties involved. However, if either the groom or the bride is not of age, or is mentally unqualified, the transaction is carried on by his or her guardian, or "wakil." The wakil is the father, unless he is dead or an invalid, in which case the brothers [604] become the wakils. If the person has no brothers, then the uncles be- [184] come the wakil in the order stated. According to certain Sunni sects in Islam, a woman marrying for the first time is always represented by her wakil, even if she is of age. The assumption is that a woman who has never been married does not have the experience that enables her to enter into any kind of legally binding relationship such as marriage.

585 675 593 429 [604] Following the original Islamic idea, marriage among Awlad Ali is an oral agreement between the groom or his father and the guardian (wakil) of the bride-to-be (her father, if alive, or her closest male kin in the following order: her brothers, her uncles, her grandfather). 585 792 [619] [778] A religious man is sometimes asked to perform the marriage, although it is not required. Some persons might invite a member of the Murabiteen tribe or holy men to witness the marriage on the basis that his presence gives "baraka," or blessing, to the marriage. Before the application of 585 656 797 [675] [634] the State legal system to the area, marriage contracts were not registered. In recent years, however, and with the increased mobility of the tribal populations, more and more marriages are being registered in the administrative districts. Still, according to the unofficial estimates,

Still, according to the unofficial estimates, only about ten per cent of all marriages are registered, and these are mainly mixed marriages involving a tribal person and a non-tribal one or a tribal member who is not living in the area anymore. The reason is that such a spouse, especially when he is the husband, is not under the control of the tribal customs and therefore cannot be forced to fulfill his obligations if he fails to do so. Most of the tribal population still feel that marriage is a personal and family affair that should be kept away from the State legal system.

Marriage among Awlad Ali is a relatively informal procedure. When a man decides to marry a certain girl, he informs his mother who, in turn, informs his father. The father may have objections to his son's choice of the bride. Such objections may be based on already strained relations between the two families or the questionable reputation of the girl or any member of her family. In such cases, the father tries to dissuade his son from going ahead with the marriage. The father is usually successful in controlling his son's choice when the latter is dependent on his father for the payment of the bridewealth called "mahr" and for the support of his new household. This is usually the case in the man's first marriage. In subsequent marriages and in the cases where the son has independent means of support for himself and his bride, the father's control of the son's choice is minimal, and asking the father's approval is a matter of formality. In second and subsequent marriages, the approval of the older wives is essential. The older wives have no right to object to the husband taking an additional wife, but they have the right to object to the choice on the basis that the new bride is hard to get along with or that there is animosity between her family and the families of the other wives which makes

584 husband or his father pays the woman's father the bridewealth, or mahr.
583 In exchange for the mahr, the husband expects his father-in-law to outfit his daughter with such items as rugs, blankets, and a few other household items, like cooking pots, serving dishes, and a metal or wooden chest [822] to keep her clothes in. These items become the private property of the wife, but the husband has the right to use them. In addition, the man 581 expects to gain certain rights to the woman. The customary law of Awlad 671 Ali gives the husband three basic rights over his wife: the right to her 585 sexual services (including the right to bear him children); the right to her labor in domestic activities; and the right to her obedience. Of the three rights, the first is the most exclusive. Not only doesthe husband have a complete monopoly over his wife's present sexual services, but he also has the right, if the girl has never been married before, to be the [583] first to use such services. If he discovers that she is not a virgin, he can send her back to her father and get back his mahr.

581 The other two rights are not as exclusive. The husband's right to 585 his wife's domestic labor does not prevent her from occasionally helping 593 out in her father's or brother's household, especially if they live nearby. Finally, the husband's right to be obeyed by his wife is always subordinated to that of her father, who retains the ultimate authority over his daughter.

482 If the woman is killed or injured, the husband is deprived of all 683 or some of her services, depending on the seriousness and the permanence 581 of the injury, and therefore is entitled to compensation. The right of 585 avenging the woman's murder remains, however, that of her family, since 593 she is still a member of that family.

581 585 562 671 Marriage does not deprive the woman of some rights of her own. The customary law gives the wife three basic rights corresponding to those of the husband's sexual services, domestic work, and obedience. Corresponding to the first of these, the wife has the right to have a normal sexual life with her husband. This right, however, is not an exclusive one, since the husband can marry more than one wife. A woman 585 586 593 can be divorced from her husband without having to return the mahr if she claims that the husband is unable to perform his sexual duties. In such cases, the marriage is usually dissolved quietly. In certain rare instances, the husband may deny his wife's accusations. If both insist 585 586 593 629 on their stand, one or both may ask to be submitted to "bait el-shana'a," or house of the dreadful deeds. Reports are extremely vague about the exact procedures involved in this case. Some informants stated that the married couple would live in a tent without sidewalls so that everybody could see what goes on inside. Most informants, however, insist that it merely means that the couple move their tent near that of a respectable man whose word is believed and honored. This man is supposed to keep a close watch on the couple's activities, by listening or looking through holes in the tent. His verdict determines the future of the marriage. [582] [681] [558] If the wife is justified in her claim, the husband is forced to divorce her and to forfeit his mahr. If, on the other hand, the verdict is for the husband, he not only can divorce her and get back the mahr, but is also entitled to kabara, or compensation, for his injured pride. There [114] [178] [583] is no case of bait el-shana'a in the area during the time of the field work, and most people insist that this practice is something of the past when the mahr was relatively high and was paid in livestock, in which

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593 case its return to the husband would have caused great financial in-
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[114] convenience for the wife's family.
[178]
[583] Corresponding to the second right, the husband's right to his
581 wife's domestic work, is the wife's right to maintenance. The husband
585 has to support his wife. This includes providing her and her children
562 with adequate food and proper clothing. If the husband fails to do so
593 because of poverty, sickness, crop failure or unexpected disaster, the
wife's brother or father provides her and her children with the neces-
[586] sary food and clothing. If the husband's failure to fulfill his duties
is due to neglect, the wife can leave him and go to her father or brother
who talks the matter over with the husband who, in turn, either agrees
to their demands or has to divorce his wife and forfeit his mahr.

593 Finally, corresponding to the husband's right to his wife's obedi-
562 ence is the wife's right to fair treatment by her husband. There are a
[179] number of ways in which the wife is mistreated. One is excessive punish-
ment; although the right of the husband to punish his wife is provided in
the Koraan, the punishment must be excessive or severe. Awlad Ali draw
a line between acceptable and severe punishment. A punishment is severe
if it results in something that other people can see or hear. If the
husband insults his wife or her family and others hear the action, or if
he beats her and this results in visible traces, then the punishment is
severe.

593 A wife considers herself mistreated if the husband, when married
595 to more than one, treats any of the other wives better than he treats
562 her. Although the wife cannot deny her husband the right to have ad-
ditional wives, he must give them all equal treatment. This includes

593 providing them with the same kind of food and clothing.* It also in-
595 562 cludes dividing his time equally between them, spending one night in each wife's tent. The first wife, being the chief one, has certain privileges: her tent is the guest house, food is brought to her residence, and she is the one to divide it among the other wives, and her house is the place for the husband to stay if he becomes sick and unable to move every night from one tent to another. Other than the exceptions given to the first wife, the husband has to treat all his wives equally.

593 (586) Normally, such cases of mistreatment do not result in divorce unless they are persistent. In most cases, if the wife is mistreated, she goes to her father's or brother's house or sends for them to come and
593 take her. For the husband to bring her back to his tent, he must pay
431 her "nasafa." This is a gift given by the husband to his wife as an acknowledgement of guilt and as a form of apology for not giving her fair treatment. In some cases the nasafa is equal to what the husband originally paid as mahr.

581 These are some of the rights that marriage gives both men and women
585 in the tribal society of Awlad Ali. These rights, however, are useless
626 unless they are backed by certain means of enforcing them. The husband's
586 626 rights are guaranteed by his ability to dissolve the marriage at will.
593 According to Islamic law, a man can divorce his wife by simply pronouncing the sentence "I divorce you" in the presence of credible witnesses.
(111) No justification for divorce is demanded from the husband according to
(572) the Koraan. No such privilege is given to the wife. She can obtain a

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* With provision for wives with more children.

5: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1967 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

[121] [613] [682] is found in either a vengeance killing or a blood-money agreement which later becomes caught up in a wider set of debt relationships. Records show that this is true in some cases, but in others the blood money is paid in one instalment and immediately. The recognition of a debt and its liquidation among the Bedouin is tantamount to a declaration of hostility, since without a debt the means for smooth-running relationships is lacking. Such a blood-money payment was made between two tertiary groups in the absence of the 'owner of the blood'; when he returned he sought out his brother's killer, and took two lives for one. Subsequently, there was a further blood-money settlement but there remained 'a man left over'. In other circumstances an annual payment, called *sana*', is demanded in addition to the prompt and full payment of the blood money. The attachment of the *sana*' to a settlement is an invidious condition since it is regarded as a fee by those who have to pay it, it is said to lower the status of a group and ' one day, it must be repudiated '.[1] It may, circumstances permitting, serve to cast off all pretence of friendly relationships. It is more likely that it will lead to a further outbreak of hostilities. When I witnessed the payment of the *sana*' the terms in which it was demanded were: ' You have a man on your backs. Are you going to repudiate this or are you going to give me *sana*'? If you repudiate, we must seek vengeance.' The payment, one in a long series, was made on that occasion but there were loud grumblings among the men of the camp against their leader for his acquiescence and one suggested that they terminate the payments forthwith by shooting the claimant. Of the three forms of blood money cited, this latter is the extreme to which groups can go short of open feud. Its opposite is a blood-money payment which is mainly left as a debt, and which is accompanied by the ' gift ' of a wife to the victim's group.[2] The wife is ' given ' as an earnest that the offender's group wishes the full restoration of relationships ruptured by the homicide. There are, therefore, four forms of blood-money payment. The Bedouin view of these is that they are variants of what is, in principle, the same thing. Their view cannot be accepted. Each of the four payments points to diverse kinds of social relationships between groups, and their consequences are wholly disparate. These various kinds of relationships between the tertiary sections of the same secondary section exist because the relationships between all sections cannot possibly be the same if they are more than a pair in number. A secondary section which spans ten tertiary sections is not the same type of unit as one which spans only three. The greater the number of tertiary sections the greater the possible permutations in their relationships. What the Bedouin think of as variations in the form of blood-money [809] payment is related to the complexities that lie behind their simple lineage model. Bedouin can comprehend this complexity only by thinking in terms of a kind of average behaviour, regarding deviations from the average as fortuitous and explicable by the faulty reasoning that ' in this particular case, it just so happened ' that this, that, and the other were part of the situation, failing to appreciate that apparent aberrations are constants to the extent that some sort of specifics occur in all cases. There is no reason why Bedouin reasoning should be followed in sociological analysis.

[1] See Peters, 1966.

[2] A marriage is not legal unless at least a promise to hand over wealth has been made beforehand. In the case cited the amount promised would be no more than a token—a sheep or a goat.

[581] [585]

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

membership of associations and so on. The statuses a Bedouin achieves depend not on an ordered acquisition through the inheritance of roles or election to them, but on his personal manipulation of linkages in his jockeying with others. Rites are minimal because there are few defined statuses an individual can predictably acquire. The equalitarianism of the desert denudes the Bedouin of ritual riches. Complimentarily, rites which do occur are thrown into exaggerated relief by the absence of others, and in their isolation, become not merely a "passage" but a cataclysmic change. Marriage and burial both comprehend limited fields of relations, but accompanying ceremonies may bring several hundred people together, people who otherwise rarely gather in these numbers to meet one another as kinsmen and neighbours, and it is suggested that the emphasis given to the events dramatises the significance of the changes they produce. In the discussion of the changes brought about by marriage, the Bedouin view of what is entailed will be considered first.

The Bedouin View of Marriage

After marriage, the Bedouin argue, a son has a tent of his own, a woman over whom he has authority and soon children to make him a father. Marriage causes split, branching. A new family is created, holding the potential of a new lineage. The separation is so painful a matter for the father that he cannot contemplate it, hence his pretence that he has no knowledge of wedding festivities, and his subsequent attitude that nothing has happened.

Interestingly, there are two other occasions when this attitude is to be observed. When a man kills within his corporate group,[5] he may flee his tribe or he may be compelled to leave; later he is likely to return and, when he does, he is received with a minimum of show. Every attempt is made to suppress knowledge of the event.

Again, if incest occurs, the memory of it must somehow be suppressed, and it is an ever-present danger. Men, permitted four wives simultaneously and also able to engage in a plurality of marriages through divorce or death of spouses, may have children showing an age difference of two or three generations. Thus it comes about that a man may be of an age in relation to his father's sister which permits them as children to behave as if they were first paternal cousins. As an adult, the preferred spouse for a man is a father's brother's daughter. In terms of relationships between adolescents the situation in which a man is of the same age generation as his father's sister is fraught with danger. In one such case, between a man and his father's sister, the male child of the union was put out in the desert to be

[5] Bedouin are disposed in groups which, in summer, usually constitute a single community, around or near a watering point. The men of this group are interlinked by reference to an ancestor four or five ascending generations, reckoning from the generation of men of about 20 years. When, elsewhere in this chapter reference is made to corporations, it will be to groups of this kind.

835 561 684 devoured by wild animals, the girl was "given"* to a close cousin who had shot his sister. Both now reside with an enemy tribal section. The two acts were equated. They were similar to the extent that both created a situation which defied institutional resolution. The culprits were exorcised. The girl's lover remains with his group — the odium for the male is incomparably less than for the female, since, while maternity is easy to establish, paternity is frequently shrouded in doubt — and during the months I lived with this particular group, there was never a mention of the affair. It was as if "nothing had happened."

829 578 613 [682] [684] 581 829 613 If asked why these two events cause such profound distress, the answers the Bedouin give are twofold: they can do nothing about them, and they cause split. By split in this context they mean split in the lineage; split in the case of homicide because it may lead to a demand for blood-money which is payable only between corporations, and split in the case of incest because it causes chaos in relationships. Marriage, in one sense, their reasoning runs, is similar, for it too causes split. Whatever may be the analytic strength of the arguments that homicide and incest precipitate splitting, the argument that marriage does so is spurious. In what sense can marriage mean split? Bedouin men marry "so that we may beget many sons, to make a big lineage later on." The worst fate that can befall a man as a result of his son's marriage is that he, in later generations, will become the focal point in a series of branching descent lines. The alternative — that his sons remain unmarried — can only mean that his name would disappear through want of successors to carry it on, which is one of the greatest evils which can befall a man, according to Bedouin sentiment: better split than oblivion. If the key to the interpretation of the father's attitude to his son's marriage is not that it causes split, it must lie elsewhere in their relationship. What marriage does is alter the distribution of authority between father and son. In order to pursue this, it is necessary first to clarify the types of authority involved, and then assess them in a post-marital situation.

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The Division of Authority Between the Family and the Corporation

554 851 Politically, a person's status is determined for him at birth. At this time a man has the right to accept or deny paternity. Denial is tantamount to an accusation of adultery by his wife. In practice, once a wife has given birth to a male child, whatever doubts people may harbour regarding paternity, the husband accepts the child as his. "The boy for the bed," is a saying often heard among the Bedouin; but it remains the husband's prerogative to invest the child with legitimacy, hence, political status. Only if a husband becomes [837] aware that he is publicly considered a cuckold, or if he catches his wife and a lover *in flagrante delicto*, is he at all likely to take action. Otherwise he may

[585] [581] * A marriage is illegal unless it is accompanied by an agreement to transfer wealth to the girl's father.

6: Peters E-5 (1948-1950) 1965 MT9 Libyan Bedouin MT9
Cyrenaica

her father takes, but in certain critical situations he can be relieved of choice if the interests of the group as a whole are at stake.

Political authority is the preserve of a corporation, and its exercise leads to invasion of a man's authority in the field of domestic relations. This does not mean, however, that discrete areas of authority do not remain with the father. In the tent his authority over his son is so overwhelming as to keep the son in almost complete subordination. The son is referred to as a slave, and in daily life he has to behave as one. He must obey every command, for, were he to rebel, he would find little or no support among his agnates, whatever the extent of the provocation. Retreat from his father is hardly an alternative, since, while his father is alive, he has no animals of his own, and to leave camp would only mean that he would have to move outside his group to seek employment elsewhere as a shepherd. If he did this he would forfeit status, and almost certainly cut himself off from property which would fall to him after his father's death. A man who "denies" his father looses too many privileges for the practice to become widespread.

Caught in this dilemma, a son's predicament is worsened by the fact that he cannot initiate marriage negotiations — to be able to do so requires some animals to offer a girl's father. Through his mother's brother he has the means of bringing pressure to bear on his father, but the latter can resist for years. Finally, a marriage is arranged for him. It is difficult to convey the yearning of young Bedouin for marriage. They discuss it among themselves *ad nauseam*. For the most part their talk is about the sexual aspect of marriage. Premarital sex relations are strictly controlled, and the movements of each young girl are carefully guarded because, if on the day of her marriage the test shows that she is not a virgin, she not only brings disgrace to her family, but the marriage may be revoked and her worth as a bride for another man seriously diminished. Nevertheless premarital relations do occur, if not between youths and maidens to any extent, between young men and married women.

The question still remains: why is marriage the occasion of such ebullient celebration? The formal authority a father exercises over his son changes little on marriage. Economically the son is still harnessed to the father. The latter still shouts his orders at him, and obedience remains unaltered. Any sign of an independent view on a matter is met with a gruff rebuff. If the marriage turns out to be disagreeable to the father, he has the authority — if not always the power — to break it. Marriage does not mean a change in the general mode of behaviour between the two; the legal relations remain unaltered, albeit modified in practice, as the married son matures in age. But marriage does mean the acquisition of rights and status previously denied a son. Henceforward, he has a domain of his own. This is high drama, indeed, for although every effort is made to give substance to the expressed view that "nothing has happened," for the first time in his life the son has seized publicly, amid the jubilations of his fellows, a status which hitherto was the possession of the father.

Cases

The Meaning of Marriage

581 Until marriage the changes in a man's life have been in the nature of
585 an ordered sequence of development from a child to be cared for — the only
342 time in his life when a father, without inhibition, showers on him his love
[593] and affection — to one who, by degrees, makes an increasing contribution to a production unit. Marriage necessitates that a man pitch a tent for himself. With a tent he becomes a potential host and protector of others. The local idiom for marriage is "to set up a tent." It would be quite improper to use
[196] the verb "to marry" when inquiring whether a marriage has taken place
[195] since this verb also has the meaning of "to have sexual intercourse." Instead the euphemism, "Have you pitched a tent?" is used. The Arabic word for a tent in this context is *Bait*. It is not used to refer to a military tent, nor to the small tent which shelters only a widow. It is reserved for the Bedouin tent, which usually has a wool top, and, most importantly, holds the promise of the continuation of life, whether it shelters a newly married couple, a mature family or young unmarried people. (The word *Bait* represents a complex concept, and it would be too much of a diversion here to discuss the various points of its significance. It is essential to understand that its
[1078] meaning is not confined to a tent in the physical sense.) Its top has *Baraka* (divine goodness) in it; the quality of *Haram*, which makes it possible for the tent to be used as a sanctuary, is associated with it and this quality of *Haram* extends, moreover, to the ropes of the tent, so that anyone who clutches them comes under the protection of the owner. In it, the wife must permanently reside and her husband has the legal right to insist on this. In it too, he has the legal right of sexual access to a woman, his wife. Any children
[885] born in it he can claim as his own. With the erection of a tent the son reaches adulthood, and it is in this sense that he can be said to have acquired a domain of his own.

581 Marriage gives a son greater freedom and less dependence on his father
585 in another sense. A second euphemism used for marriage is "making a
[593] relationship," specifically an affinal one. Relationships between a man and
[195] his father-in-law are diverse and are used in various ways in different situations. Here, the particular aspect which needs to be stressed is that a man
606 can cajole his father-in-law, and (through his wife) wealth, in the form
425 of animals, may pass from the former to the latter. Reciprocal gifts are passed
556 between affines on certain occasions, but in addition small amounts may pass which are not connected with the formal occasions of exchanges. Debt
583 lies between them. It begins with the initiation of marriage negotiations,
584 when the suitor's kinsmen take a prescribed number of sheep to present to
606 the girl's father if negotiations are successful. They promise to transfer bride-wealth[9] to the girl's father. A few weeks after the marriage, the hus-

[171] [9] I use the word "bride-wealth" because it has become so familiar in the literature, but the only similarity between the *Sahiba* of the Bedouin and the bride-wealth of